of a feeling of confidence, no matter how circumstances may change. 181 812

If we seek the origin of this apparently irrational optimism, we come to the conclusion that its roots lie in prehistoric times and that its motives have been preserved in folklore, tales and fables. The study of extensive Ukrainian material proves conclusively that the belief in the victory of good over evil is part and parcel of the people's faith. The world is ruled by the principle of good; evil, and its personification, the devil, are by no means equal to good and do not have an independent existence of their own. 776 812

Without going into details, we can make the general assertion that in Ukraine the devil is no powerful god who finds satisfaction in the sea of troubles that overwhelms man; his power does not equal that of the good spirit; in the realm of evil he is not supreme over subordinate demons — he is a petty spirit who, by exploiting the weaknesses of God and man, seeks to make unpleasantness for both.

The devil cannot have the mastery over a human being during the latter's life, even if he has promised him his soul. It is fairly easy to summon the devil in order to enter into a contract with him. In drawing up the articles of such a contract, the devil does not display any special intelligence, or even intellectual superiority over his human partner. The Evil One not infrequently gets the worst of a bargain with a simple peasant; he puts himself to no end of trouble in order to get money and honor for man before death, but after he is dead, man always finds a loop-hole in the contract through which he can slip and land happily in Paradise. 776

Thus we see that, for the Ukrainian, far from being an imposing figure, the devil degenerates into something comical and, at times, even pitiable, a being to be exploited or made a fool of by man. In the eternal struggle which it is man's fate to conduct against evil, man is far superior to the devil.

Maksimov assures us that the belief in an unlimited number of evil spirits is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Great Russian. He believes that there are scarcely any places in the

776 world free from them, that they do not even respect Russian churches. As unsubstantial beings who can, however, appear in various familiar guises to man, these servants of the Evil One do not only dwell in places forsaken by God, in bottomless moors and the depths of forests: they are just as much at home in human habitations and even penetrate into the human organism. We may see proof of this belief in the fact that all containers of drinking-water in Russian peasant houses have got some kind of lid, be it ever so primitive. If it is impossible to get a lid, two sticks are laid cross-wise on the vessel so as to prevent the devil from getting into the water. Similarly, we can scarcely find a peasant who, in spite of innate carelessness and dreaminess, will forget to make the sign of the Cross over his mouth when yawning, so as to keep the Evil One from entering into his organism.

On the basis of material at our disposal dealing with the rôle of the devil among Eastern Slavs, we may safely assert that among Ukrainians, as among the peoples of Western Europe, the demonic has lost something of its mystery, originality and power while, in the life of the Great Russian, evil may not be on the same level as good, but it has nevertheless managed to
000 preserve a fairly strong position. Russian dualism, predominant in folk-lore and expressed in the struggle between the Divine Power and the Evil One points plainly to analogy with the dualist beliefs of Oriental religions. Mazdeism in particular, the creed of aryan Iran is decidedly dualistic in character, being constructed on the contrasts between light and darkness, good and evil, salvation and destruction, as they appear in the psychical and moral world. These contrasts can be traced to two gods who are equal in power and who are constantly engaged in strife. Ahriman characterises the cause of the strife and the mutual enmity of these two powers as the ethical devil; for a moral sin, envy of Ormuzd causes Ahriman to conceive the idea of destroying his creations.

771 It is just here, in the province of ethics, that the diffe-
812 rence in the conceptions of good and evil which we have already noticed in the national beliefs of Russians and Ukrainians, becomes strikingly apparent. For the Ukrainian evil

/13/ crystal-clear Poprad eats it way toward Galicia. Along this small stream live Ukrainians; near it lies Velykyi Lypnyk. Its neighbors are Germans, Gorals and Slovaks.

771 Here lies the border of a strange world, a world whose other edge reaches almost to the Caspian Sea on the threshold of Asia. In it birth, life, death, time and many other things have a different value than elsewhere, other criteria obtain, and every stranger who would attempt to apply his own measure would fail. Even Christ has become different; he does not wear the crown of thorns, but the emperor's crown on his brow. Thus he sits in judgment over mankind. Here other altars are built, not the puritanically strict ones of the evangelical church nor the ostentatious ones of the Catholic, but the magnificent ones of the Byzantine church. The mysticism of this world between the peaks of the High Tatra, the glaciers of the Caucasus and the glistening mirror of the Caspian is already revealed here where Rome, Constantinople and Moscow are an equal distance away. True, the church steeple has an onion-shaped cupola, like any Bavarian one, but beside it two smaller cupolas adorn the roof and the altar conceals a magnificent painted screen, designed to wrap the service in still greater mystery. Like pure gold this iconostasis with the pictures of six prophets /9/ and twelve apostles is spread out before the sanctuary. Its basic tone is blue and yellow, the Ukrainian colors.

• 776 With God these people communicate through the priest, with the devil, directly. Even though they believe in Christ with deep religiosity, they by no means wish to be on a bad footing with the Evil One. It is not good to have him for an enemy; it is better not to say his name, or he might think he is being called and is expected to come. These people are also on good terms with spirits. The latter must be respected, feared,

776 appeased, exorcised. When the priest of Velykyi Lypnyk consecrates the water of the village brook on the sixth of January, the people believe that the demons are thus driven away.

326 The men of Valykyi Lypnyk are tinkers, a
22/ trade which in many places has a bad flavor. It is easy to say that they travel about the country like gypsies. But even though they wander from village to village, a small bundle of tools on their backs, repairing stoves and mending pots, they are, nevertheless, not homeless. As soon as spring comes, poverty drives them out on the road, and only late in the fall when the first white flakes begin to fall, they return to their wives and children with the few groschen they have saved.
24/ For land is scarce, the clod of earth small, the soil is poor and the climate harsh.* The women work like drudges for their bit of barley bread and potatoes. With their small cows and a wooden plough they till the lower slopes of the mountain ridges. They sow by hand, harrow, and in the fall they cut off the barely ripe ears of grain with a sickle.
286 In their "spare time" these women with their
29/ strangely narrow faces sit barefoot in their full pleated skirts and pale pink blouses, a charming little cap on their heads, at their looms and tirelessly ply their shuttle back and forth between the taut threads, or press wool into felt for the jackets and trousers of their husbands.
342 The rooms of these "tinkers" are surprisingly large and clean; the kitchen, living room, /10/ bedroom and work room are all in one. The whole structure with adjoining stable and wagon shed is built of wood, the inside unfinished, the outside [789] covered with loam. In order that there be no lack of magic, carpenters carve three suns into the central roof beam.

184 How rich these "tinkers" of East Slovakia were with their little plot of free earth, their two or three cows, their barley bread and their loom, compared to their brothers in Carpatho-

*[In the village of Valykyi Lypnyk, Western Ukraine -Analyst]

model in clay and paint it, and weave carpets.

574 The long winter days pass pleasantly when people visit each other and work in a neighbor's house for a change. They tell each other legends of epic proportions from the nation's past, ghost stories and village gossip.

*

776 The life of the Ukrainian people is full of profound symbolism. As is the case with many other things in this country, religion still has many primitive elements. There is no other Christian people that has preserved as much pre-Christian, heathen ideology down to our own day as the Ukrainians have. /136/ For, besides God and the devil, the world beyond is inhabited by many good and evil spirits that also move about in our world, crossing the path of man in hundreds of ways, and bringing him good things or bad. One must be on one's guard against these mighty foes; one must keep away from them and not anger them. The good spirits should be offered thanks and sacrifices. Primitive magic! For the spirit of the field which can be a bird or some other animal, a swath of ripe grain must be left untouched, otherwise it might take its departure. The spirit of the field can also be a female creature, a rusalka or nymph. In spring, when the rusalki dance in the grain field, one may not cross the fields.

The domestic spirit is a faithful friend of the house who has picked out a place for himself beside the warm stove. He protects the house; danger is near when he whimpers or groans. If people move they manifestly invite him to go along by offering him bread and salt.

You protect yourself from theforest spirit who rules over the beasts of the forest and can turn into a fox or wolf by swearing loudly. You protect yourself from the whirlwind by exorcism

• Mor by making signs with your fingers. This giant with the full lips can be seen in the bridal procession of the "impure forces". Impure forces are the suicides, the condemned, dead witches and magicians, dogs, cats, mice and human beings who have died unbaptized. It is dangerous to offend the whirlwind. He is a violent spirit, he pulls apart haystacks and stacks of grain, destroys roofs and uproots trees. On St. John's Night the witches ride toward the bare mountain near Kiyev. They are the ones who are responsible for droughts, they disperse clouds and steal stars.

If children are malicious the devil has surely exchanged their souls for an evil spirit; he has exchanged their skin and they become changelings /young imps/.

Female forest spirits, mauka, entice the lonely wanderer to dance and then tickle him to death. No less /137/ dangerous are the vampires who suck a sleeper's blood from his veins. In the case of people who are suspected of being witches, sorcerers or vampires, one cuts their tendons after death, puts a padlock through their lips and binds their hands and feet, in order to prevent them from returning. A custom which probably goes back to the time when the Greeks founded cities and carried on trade along the north coast of the Black Sea, is that of giving passage money to the dead. To this day in the Ukraine, coins are placed on the eyes of the deceased for his journey into the other world.

A spirit is always held responsible for every pain, whether it be in the infected root of a tooth or in the small of the back. Wormwood is the best protection against evil spirits.

The litany of these popular beliefs, which are not merely memories of times long past, but were in daily use in pre-war Ukraine, could be carried on for a long time.

000 The living faith of pagan times occupies

533 lieves that song is a part of work, and he has special symbolic songs for every type of work.

527 769 The Monday a week after Easter is dedicated to the ancestors. Well supplied with food and drink, the whole families set out for the cemeteries, just as in the days of Vladimir, in order to observe the death cult. They sit down on the graves of their ancestors, eat the food they have brought, share it with the dead by placing the latters' portion beside the Christian cross made of wood, and they do not forget to empty a small glass of horilka over it. The dead are honored if the visitors leave their graves in an elevated mood.

776 Summer passes by with the customary field work. It is a glorious time, the pumpkins and the melons ripen, the hollyhocks bloom again and people sleep out in the open. The harvest begins not without symbolic rituals; for the spirits must be thanked and one must pray for good weather. When the grain has been stored in the barns, the priest consecrates the harvest wreath, the grains of which are mixed among the seed the following year.

793 In the midst of this strange pagan-Christian world, the priest lives and works as the representative of Christ on earth. He knows the customs of the people from the time he is a child, and he joins in on many occasions. It is not sacrilegious when during a difficult birth he places the church key on the belly of the woman in labor, when he administers the Holy Sacrament to sick cattle or seals graves so that the dead may not /140/ return. Both shepherd and flock most earnestly believe that such deeds are efficacious and pleasing in the sight of God.

771 178 The First World War, the civil wars and finally the Bolshevist cudgel have destroyed this world; faith and superstition, holy mass and the spirit cult were no longer tolerated.

22: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1938 RD1 Ukraine RD1

SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS

BY SAMUEL KOENIG

776 THE Ukrainian peasant of south-eastern Poland or Galicia looks upon all the forces of nature as actuated by spirits which must be conceived of as mainly ghost-derived. True nature spirits, whatever importance they may once have had, play to-day only a minor role in the folk beliefs of the Galician Ukrainians.[1] In the spirit environment of the peasant, their place is taken by two classes of beings: the Devil with his cohorts, and the ghosts of the dead.[2] It is to these that the various calamities and afflictions that befall man are attributed, and against them that all possible defensive measures are directed.

The most important spirit, and the most generally feared, is the Devil (*didko*). He causes extremes in natural phenomena with all their disastrous results to man. He brings, not only hail and whirlwinds, but also floods and excessive droughts. Indeed, he or his demons lie behind every mysterious force.[3]

As to the appearance of the Devil, popular beliefs are at variance. In general, he is thought to assume human shape, but he is black and has horns and a fiery tongue. Although

113 [1] Even Baba Jeudocha, the personification of the snowstorm, and Did (Old Man), the grim winter god who is symbolically burned some days after Christmas, can hardly be looked upon as strict nature spirits; both are said to have been originally human beings who turned into spirits only after their death. (See Kaindl, R. F., "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geogr. Gesellschaft*, XXXVII (Wien, 1894), 631, 636.)

[2] Zelenin, D., *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1927), p. 384.

[3] Onyščuk, A., "Materyaly do Huculskoï Demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoï Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), XI, 72-3.

776 he may take the form of either sex, the Devil himself is a male.[4] Sometimes he appears as a chimney sweep, when he has wings like a bat, tangled horns like a ram, and a tail.[5] The Devil can change his shape to suit his fancy, and can assume almost any form, e.g., that of a baby, a cow, a pig, an insect, a worm, or a straw.[6] Even when visible in no concrete form, he may nevertheless be present. When one sees a flash of light from afar at dusk, or hears a sudden whisper or rustle, one is certain it is the Devil, whose unseen presence is felt everywhere.[7] The Devil fears nothing save God, the cross, and holy water.[8] Nevertheless, he is mortal, and is particularly vulnerable to lightning. During a thunderstorm he seeks any available cover, but Elijah's arrow discovers him, and destroys him and his shelter.[9] His ordinary abode is hell, whence he ascends at night to pursue his baneful activities on earth.[10]

551 776 The people, as a rule, carefully avoid mentioning the name of the Devil (*didko* or *czort*). To utter it would be blasphemy (*lichoslowyty*), and to blaspheme against the Devil is a serious sin (*hrich welykyj*).[11] The people, therefore, usually resort to a circumlocution and call him *win* (he), *tot szczezby* (that one, may he be lost!), *zlyj duch* (the evil spirit),[12] or *neczystyj* (the unclean one).[13] His name may be mentioned, however, in extreme anger,[14] or he may be called familiarly by a nickname, such as Fedko or Chitko.[15] To some individuals, who have formed a pact with the Devil and have sold him their souls, he is harmless and even exceedingly helpful in attaining power and wealth.

113 [4] Kaindl, R. F., *Die Huzulen* (Wien, 1894), p. 81.
[5] Onyščuk, *op. cit.*, XI, 72.
[6] Kolberg, O., *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 232.
[7] *Idem.*
[8] Kolberg, O., *Pokucie* (Kraków, 4 vols., 1882-9), III, 86n.
[9] Zelenin, *op. cit.*, p. 397.
[10] Kaindl, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[11] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 81 n.
[12] *Idem.*
[13] Kaindl, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[15] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 232.

775 (*pokutnyky*) and those of persons who have died a violent death. They occupy themselves mainly with praying to God on moonlit nights in front of the church, and with frightening people.[17] Some of them, however, are definitely malignant, especially the ghosts of drowned persons (*topelnyky*). Such ghosts are doomed to roam the earth for seven years. They live in the water, usually near the spot where they met their death, and, like the vampires, are especially active at the full moon.[18] The appearance ascribed to them differs with the locality. Some picture the *topelnyk* as a little man with long hair which reaches to the ground and covers him completely; others describe him as completely covered with fish-like scales.[19] The *topelnyky* are dangerous only to persons on the water, especially to those rowing in a boat. Since their redemption depends upon their success in drowning another person, they are always on the lookout for a victim.[20] In some places no peasant dares to go rowing on a Sunday or holiday, except to attend church or to call a priest or a doctor, under which circumstances the *topelnyky* have no power to harm.[21]

776 The waters also harbour *rusalky*, or nymphs, the ghosts of girls who have died before marriage. Their bodies are half human and half fish-like. They are not, as a rule, harmful, but spend their time singing, praying and telling stories.[22] It is interesting to note that neither the *rusalky* nor the *topelnyky* are really water spirits, i.e. nature spirits, but rather human ghosts who inhabit the waters. This again emphasizes the fact that true nature spirits are almost completely lacking among the Ukrainians. Moreover, the *rusalky* frequently take up their abode in forest glades and

113 [17] Hnatiuk, V., "Znadoby do halicko-ruskoï demonologii," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnik* (Lviw, 1904), XV, 145.

[18] *Ibid*, XV, 154. [19] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233.

[20] Szuchiewicz, W., *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 4 vols., 1902-8), IV, 283.

[21] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233. [22] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, IV, 282.

775 springs, and thus also become spirits of the woods and fields.[23]

Closely related to the water nymphs, but more harmful, are the so-called *mawky*, the ghosts of children who died before baptism. They are pictured as girls with tall, graceful figures, round faces and long tresses. They wear garlands of flowers upon their heads and are clothed in very thin, transparent dresses, but their backs entirely lack any covering of flesh, so that their entrails are externally visible.[24] They roam the world begging to be baptized, and are especially active on the Eve of St. John (Kupalo), on which night they entice people and suck their blood. A person misled by them never returns to his people, and after his death his soul is appropriated by the devil.[25]

776 Of a more definitely daimonic and malicious nature than the aforementioned spirits are the *diwe-baby*, *bohinky*, or, as they are usually called among the mountaineers, the *mamuny*. They are superhuman women, malevolent, full of passionate desire to associate with people, but with cold, unfeeling hearts. In appearance they are tall, lean, and pale-faced, and have long disorderly hair and breasts thrown over their shoulders.[26] The *diwe-baby* live in deep unapproachable caves, which they leave at night on mischief bent. Those of them who have children steal into houses where there are unbaptized infants, snatch them away and leave their own " miserable-looking, swollen, cross-eyed bastards " in their stead. Such foundlings cannot be taught to speak or walk; they howl like inhuman fiends, crawl upon their hands and grow very rapidly. In order to get rid of such a child and to get back her own, a mother must take the foundling, put him on the dung-pile, and beat him with a broom or stick until the *baba*, filled with pity for her child, is finally forced to take it back and to return the stolen

[23] Zelenin, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

[24] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 99.

[25] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, IV, 281.

[26] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 100.

22: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1938 RD1 Ukraine RD1

776 infant.[27] The mountaineers, moreover, hold these spirits, some of whom are males, responsible for adultery.[28] The mountaineers likewise believe in a class of supernatural beings, called *czynatary*, who cause quarrels among people. These spirits throw an ant hill full of ants into a burning oven, and just as the ants have no way of escape, so the members of the stricken household cannot help quarreling amongst themselves, and may even go as far as to commit murder.[29]

The so-called *letawica*, or evil spirit of a falling star, is unquestionably the ghost of a wicked being. When it descends to earth it takes on human form of very enticing appearance. It may appear, the people hold, either in male or, less often, in female form, but it is always characterized by youth, beauty, and a slender figure. The *letawica* appears to boys and girls, especially to the latter, in lonely places, when the first promptings of love have been aroused in them. Allured by its display of passion, a girl falls readily into its arms, whereupon it begins sucking the sweetness of youth from her mouth. So passionate is its embrace that the victim gradually loses her freshness, withers, fades and finally dies in its arms.[30]

777 778 According to a widespread popular belief, certain objects or manifestations of nature are fetishes, i.e. they serve as dwellings for evil spirits, and, consequently, must be avoided with great care. One such object is the elder (*byzyna*). One must not dig around it, above all not remove any of its roots, for in them dwells an evil spirit who will cause the hand of any one who disregards the taboo to wither or even bring death to him or to a member of his family.[31] Objects of unusual shape, in particular, are believed to harbour evil

[27] *Ibid.*, III, 100-1.

[28] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, IV, 282.

[29] *Ibid.*, IV, 286.

[30] Wagilewicz, *op. cit.* (Quoted by O. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 103.)

[31] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 235.

22: Koenig E-4 (no da.) 1 [illegible] RIVI Ukraine RDI

775 spirits. A gnarled and crooked tree, for example, should
778 never be felled, lest the anger of its indwelling spirit be aroused. Stones shaped like an egg should not be moved for a similar reason. Crossroads are to be avoided as much as possible, for "the evil spirits, upon being driven out of paradise, have settled there, continuing their malicious activities and causing people all manner of ills".[32] Even natural phenomena may be infested with malevolent spirits. When a whirlwind sucks up a column of dust, the people say that a devil's wedding is taking place. On seeing a twister, one must immediately sit down on the ground and recite a formula, especially designed for the occasion; otherwise the whirling dust may get under one's feet and cause them to be crippled.[33]

776 The beings who constitute the spirit environment of the Ukrainian peasant are predominately malevolent. Though a few of them, like the *letawica* and the *topelnyk*, are restricted to a specialized activity, the great majority are capable of causing all kinds of human misery, besides the power they wield over natural forces. They consume the milk from the cows, send sleep upon a man when he is supposed to be keeping watch, uproot trees, roll rocks down from the mountains, send lightning and thunder, cause the death of sheep, and account for the failure of crops. They also cause physical and mental abnormalities, criminal tendencies, and excessive human desires and passions. Deformed children, idiots and imbeciles are the work of vampires and the *diwe-baby*; and murder, quarrels, adultery and sexual irregularities are incited by other malignant ghosts.

[32] Kaindl, *op. cit.*, p. 83. [33] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 91

23: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1939 RD1 Ukraine RD1

777 various prophecies as to the future of the child, but final decision rests with the oldest, whose judgment prevails. These same judges grant the child a star, which shines only so long as he [774] lives; upon his death it falls to earth. Every person at birth likewise receives a guardian angel, whose duty it is to protect him throughout his life. Before starting any new task, and especially when in danger, the peasant calls upon his ministering angel for assistance, saying: "Guardian angel, help me!"[31] Since one's fate is determined at birth, one can do little to change it. This explains, in the popular mind, why one man is poor and another rich, one healthy and another sick, why one lives long and another dies young. It also explains why there are all kinds of children in the world, and why even children of the same parents often differ so markedly.[32]

845 732 A deformed or mentally deficient child is ascribed to the act of an evil spirit, particularly the *diwa-baba*. Such a child has a large head, is always lean, and can never be satiated. With his tremendous appetite he suckles so ravenously that his mother's breast finally withers away. Such a child causes constant trouble, is retarded in its growth and short-lived, and does not reach a stature commensurate with his age until after death.[33]

II. Christening Ceremonies

851 553 While great secrecy surrounds pregnancy and birth, the ceremonies that follow are ushered in with the greatest publicity. As soon as she has attended to the child and the mother, the midwife begins to make preparations for the christening (*chrestyny*), [777] which must take place immediately. A child who is allowed to remain unbaptized over night is exposed to all sorts of dangers. If at all possible, therefore, an infant is taken to church to be baptized on the very day it is born, even though the hour be late in the evening, the weather extremely unfavourable, and the distance considerable.[34] While the father, who takes [113]

[31] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5. [32] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 287.

[33] Kaindl, R. F., "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi (Braunschweig, 1899), 256.

[34] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 113; Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 6.